Chapter 3

The study

The analytic concerns discussed in the previous chapter regarding the processes through which languages are learned, negotiated in everyday interaction, and deployed and used as befits different situations, were the central topical arcs which drove the initial research application leading to this project. A parallel interest centred on factors more closely associated with the individual, such as reasons for migration, sociocultural background, and thoughts and experiences about living in Denmark. Associated interests in societal integration, the role of language policy within this, and the status and challenges posed by language for entrants to Denmark also helped shape its early focus.[4] As such, this project set out to broadly explore, on the one hand, the formal and informal contexts of L2 learning and the interaction between them, and on the other, the individual factors influencing learner actions in these contexts.

However, as is necessarily the case in a research project grounded in a perspective of L2 learning that is iterative, context-dependent, and varied, one's initial intellectual framework and scholarly curiosity must continually be adapted according to the specificities of the research participants as well as the evolving contexts (see also Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 4). In this particular study, some broader – relatively unanticipated – contexts that became increasingly relevant as it progressed were contemporary trends of global marriage migration and changing family formations. Section 3.1 briefly sketches these with special attention to how they play out in a Danish setting. With these contexts in mind, section 3.2 outlines the broader research questions which appear in this study. These questions arose from the initial research interests and were adapted and augmented as the study progressed. One key factor impacting the development of these research questions over the duration of this research was the process of data collection and generation of research participants. These procedures and the further pertinent research design considerations associated with a qualitative case study approach are outlined in section 3.3. Finally, section 3.4 briefly presents how the conceptual frameworks from Chapter 2 and the broader contexts, key questions, and data outlined in this chapter are then brought together and organized in the four empirical chapters which follow.

3.1 The broader context of the study

An ecological approach to language learning demands not only considering one's participants but the broader sociocultural and political contexts within which they are positioned. This means not only to anticipating likely contexts but being receptive to emergent themes that arise during the process of data collection and analysis. In this study, two broader contexts which are highly

[4] The project was initiated as part of a larger study in Denmark funded by the Danish Research Council under the name: Læring og integration. Voksne og dansk som andetsprog [Learning and integration. Adults and Danish as a second language] (2004-2008). The project consisted of researchers from the University of Southern Denmark (Catherine Brouwer, Kristian Mortensen, Johannes Wagner), Roskilde University (Karen Risager, Michael Svendsen Pedersen, Louise Tranekjær) and the Danish University of Education (Kirsten L. Kolstrup, Karen Lund).

pertinent for its participants, especially Mulenga, are issues surrounding marriage migration and the issues related to the composition of the family she becomes a part of.

3.1.1 Entering Fortress First World, the case of Denmark

Peoples' reasons to leave their country of origin and migrate to another country vary greatly. This holds true not only for wealthy, highly-educated immigrants, but is also the case for migrants who come from second and third world countries, even if this is done through the laws of family unification (see Beck-Gernsheim, 2007; Charsley, 2012). These particular, often falsely homogenized, groups of migrants have received much attention in many European countries. This public awareness is closely associated with legislative attempts that view such immigrants as a possible threat (be it economically, culturally, or in terms of security), and therefore try to limit their access. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2010) describe these attempts as a building of walls around "Fortress First World" (p. 403). This on-going legislative wall building manifests itself in ever-changing immigration laws that are meant to regulate and control who is let into the fortress and who stays out. However, the wall building also leads to increased creativity for would-be migrants in order to avoid actions that could contravene these laws or bring them into effect.

The diversity of immigrants' reasons to migrate also holds true for the more narrowly defined category of marriage migration which reflects global inequalities of different parts of the world. Marriage migration is understood as transnational migration in which the choice to migrate is "informed by a double desire: both the country and the partner are objects of desire" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2010, p. 412). This category includes both: 1) migrants from third and second world countries who marry a partner living in a second or first world country with a similar cultural background. In these cases the marriage migrant typically draws on their friends or families to connect them to already established family-members abroad; and 2) migrants from a second or third world country, typically women, who marry partners in a second or first world country with a different cultural background. This latter group has been surrounded with negative terminology such as "mail-order brides", "visa wives" or "imported husbands" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2010; Fernandez, 2013; Sims, 2012). This negative image often assigns little agency to the migrant, frequently positioning such women discursively as being trapped, oppressed, exploited, or victims of violence. However, many studies problematize this stance and demonstrate a more complex picture (see Constable, 2005; Sims, 2012). Previous studies have shown, for instance, how the choice, expectations and images of the desired country, including who one falls in love with, is coloured by the media and global tourism (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2010; Fernandez, 2013). These studies highlight that the interplay between hopes, emotions and dreams is highly intricate and point to a positive psychology which has shown how the possibilities implicitly and explicitly promised by visions of a potential partner from a Western country are likely to be framed optimistically.

In Europe, EU directives ensure some level of coherence in the immigration policies across the European states. However, Denmark provides a special case because of an opt-out

from the Area of Justice and Home Affairs in 1993 allowing for "one of the most restrictive immigration and integration policy frameworks yet to be developed in Europe" (Jørgensen, 2012, p. 60). These stringent policies were especially developed between 2001-2011, a period in which right-leaning Liberal and Conservative People's Parties (Venstre and Det Konservative Folkeparti) governed Denmark with the support of the immigrant hostile Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti). One example of this legislation that was negatively evaluated by the European Commission, and indeed referred to as breaching human rights by the European Court of Human Rights, was the Danish "24-year rule" and its "combined attachment" requirement (for more detail see Jørgensen, 2012). The rule was enacted to prevent forced marriages between immigrant-Danes and fellow nationals – typically envisioned in the case of younger women – from their homelands. Instead, it often resulted in other forms of "force". For instance, Fernandez (2013) argued that most Cuban-Danish couples would prefer not to marry while trying out their relationship, but both Cuban and Danish legislation forced them into marriage if they wished to explore their relationship in ways other than via long-distance. This law and other attempts to make it more difficult to enter the country via family unification are often justified based on Western ideals of love and gender equality especially pertinent for the Scandinavian context (Fernandez, 2013). However, their result is frequently restrictive and the associated legal requirements often point to less altruistic rationales.

For instance, once granted a temporary residency permit in Denmark, the Danish spouse of the immigrant is required to reapply for a permit on their behalf every year (Jørgensen, 2012). After a number of years (7 years has been the most consistent number in the legislation from 2000-2012), permanent residency can be granted, but only if the immigrant has lived up to a number of criteria including passing a Danish language test and having worked a certain amount of years. The specificities of these requirements have also been constantly changing. In short, immigrants do not hold the same rights as the rest of the Danish population (Jørgensen, 2012). The constantly changing laws on immigration and what an immigrant needs to obtain permanent residency or citizenship usually get a lot of media attention. This especially pertains to discussions around the term of *integration*, which has led to heated political and public debate creating an unfortunate us-them conflict between Danes and immigrants (Jenkins, 2011). Jöhncke (2011) and Rytter (2011) show how the welfare system and so-called "Danishness"-measures, that are impossible to objectify, have become inseparable which makes efforts to integrate immigrants difficult. Thus, the walls around Fortress First World are mirrored by internal barrier building, making it difficult for immigrants to be included in Danish society (Olwig & Paerregaard, 2011, p. 15). This context pressed on all participants in this study (please see section 3.3.1 below), and was particularly felt by Mulenga with increasing strength as this research progressed. Another key context in this regard, for both participants, was the family setting. Yet again, for Mulenga, this was far more complicated.

3.1.2 Changing family patterns

In Denmark in 2012 the percentage of divorces filed within the year in relation to new marriages was 46.5% (Danmarks Statistik, 2013). This parallels a trend in most other Western countries where the pattern is similar; in these countries approximately 40-50% of marriages now end in divorce. Such statistics reflect changes in family patterns away from nuclear families. However, in studies of family talk in interactional linguistics and linguistic anthropology, nuclear families still dominate the field. Such research typically finds that dimensions of power and solidarity provide a useful framework to understand how family members in their communication simultaneously attend to the hierarchy and the closeness between them (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Geertz, 1989; Gordon, 2003, 2009; Marinova, 2007; Tannen, 2001, 2007). Another line of research on family talk has been especially concerned with face threatening acts such as complaints (Dersley & Wootton, 2000; Drew & Walker 2009; Laforest, 2002, 2009) and nagging (Boxer, 2002). Such studies demonstrate how in family talk more direct strategies are chosen because of the intimate relationship between the participants. Furthermore, complaints in families are most often done by a parent directed at a child with the hoped for function of ensuring the moral order of the family (Laforest, 2009).

Common across the above areas of research is that family roles, hierarchy, solidarity, and normativity are maintained and negotiated in interaction. This "right to speech" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648), the legitimacy of the complainer to complain, the discipliner to discipline, is most often unaddressed in all of the above mentioned studies. That means they take for granted the parents' right to position themselves in an asymmetrical relationship to the children. A reason for this absence is possibly to be found in that the data are taken from nuclear families. However, as the divorce statistics of most Western countries evidence, nuclear families do not represent the lived reality of a large percentage of families in the Western world.

By way of comparison, the area of Family Studies has increasingly come to examine how family communication changes when families split and are brought together in new step- (or bonus-) constellations (Burrell, 1995; Ganong & Coleman, 2004; Levin, 1997a, 1997b). From this literature we have learned how dimensions of control and connection are central in negotiations between stepchild and stepparent. This research points to the importance of the dimension of legitimacy, as it has been found that stepparents often feel excluded on certain family matters. While this insight is somewhat familiar within this field, it is still only rarely explored in interactional linguistics or linguistic anthropology that takes a micro-analytic approach (exceptions are Dedaic, 2001; Gordon, 2003; and Ogierman, 2013). The few studies which do consider issues of legitimacy confirm the centrality of the power and solidarity dimensions in the talk of these families, even if this is not their primary focus. In short, various literatures point to the important contextual aspects of inclusion and exclusion of stepparents on certain matters, something which has an impact on everyday communication in families and the associated experiences.

With these two important contexts of the study considered, we now turn to the key questions which originally guided it and those which emerged as it matured.

3.2 Key questions

The two major areas of concern in this dissertation regard L2 motivation in general and L2 use in the domestic sphere. These areas are interrelated as motivation and immediate experience stand in a dynamic relationship in which motivation constantly evolves in interaction with present time experiences (see section 2.2). These analytic considerations formed the initial lines of inquiry for this study thus generating, as already noted in the introduction, two central questions: 1. How do individual, contextual, and societal factors relate to the motivation to learn a second language?; and 2. How does language competence interrelate with negotiations of identities in L2 use in the domestic sphere?

Yet as hinted at above, the contexts of the research participants raised other pertinent concerns which in turn led to other areas demanding further exploration and probing. In relation to the specific case of Mulenga, her status as a marriage migrant, who was part of a stepfamily formation, resulted in a number of ancillary queries being formulated.[5] Here challenging questions arose with regard to L2 motivation, such as: How do Mulenga's past and present experiences come together to form future hopes for her life in Denmark? How do global inequalities between third and first world countries influence the formation of her hoped-for life in Denmark? How does Danish immigrant legislation influence her motivation to learn Danish and integrate into Danish society? How does her motivation to learn Danish interact with her experiences and behaviour in the Danish language classroom? How does her use of Danish outside the classroom interact with her agency and experience within it? And what insights are there to be gained for language educators and policy makers from cases such as Mulenga's?

With regard to L2 use in the domestic sphere, further demanding questions were also raised. Some of these include: How are positions of control and connection negotiated between Mulenga, her husband and her stepdaughter? How do the participants address issues of legitimacy regarding Mulenga having a say on family-matters? How do the family members attend to Mulenga's L2 competence during these negotiations? How does her husband mediate Mulenga's negotiations with her stepdaughter? How is Mulenga's interaction with her stepdaughter different when her husband is not present? And what are the broader cultural trends and differences in background which can be thought to influence the communication in Mulenga's family?

As we can see, this study's initial foray primarily focused on learning exogenous to the classroom quickly expanded to include issues around domesticity. These early interests were confronted and complicated by a number of intervening factors, leading to a number of additional

[5] Yuko also migrated through the laws of family unification to live with her Danish husband, but her everyday context and rationale for being in Denmark was much different than that of Mulenga. See 3.3.1 for further details.

challenging questions and contexts. The global trend of marriage migration and accompanying governmental policies associated with inequalities between third and first world countries bore heavily on the experience of the primary participant in this study. Second, changing family patterns resulting from high divorce rates and new family formations – in the Western world in particular – and how this contended with her learned associations and cultural beliefs around the institution of marriage, also became quite pertinent. These questions were explored through the analysis of various types of qualitative data, using a combination of approaches and settings to enable triangulation of the findings. These processes and procedures are outlined in the following section.

3.3 Research design

An ecological view of language, learning, and the learner, as outlined in Chapter 2, needs to be reflected in the data used to account for the ecological principles such as layered simultaneity, the relativity of self and other, openness, and the emergence of meaning, identity, self and motivation. Such complexities are typically explored through qualitative inquiry using multiple methods allowing for so called "thick" or "in-depth" descriptions of participants' experiences and actions (Duff, 2006; Watson-Gegeo, 1992). Such inquiries position themselves at the interface of micro and macro processes. The use of multiple methods or triangulation helps to facilitate such comparisons, as each type of data results in different representations of the phenomenon under study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Duff, 2008; Stake, 2005). While triangulations and broader contextualizations are essential for the validity of a qualitative study, they need to go hand-in-hand with reflexive practices in which the researcher considers their own influence on the data collected and the interpretations made (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Issues of reflexivity are important at all stages of research, and thus also should be considered in relation to the conceptual and analytical levels. This aligns reflexivity closely with an ecological perspective as both highlight the relations between the researcher (both as an academic and as a person) and the researched and how this changes over time. Throughout the outline of the research design, I stress this researcher-researched relationship.

3.3.1 The participants

The data analysed in the dissertation comes from two participants, 32-year-old Mulenga from Zambia, and 27-year old Yuko from Japan. I came into contact with them via the language centre at which they followed Danish classes, located in an urban setting. Assistance in forming these contacts was facilitated by the senior researchers in the larger project (see footnote 4) who on earlier occasions had used this language centre for data collection. I first went to the language centre in the beginning of May 2005 where I met with the teacher, Peter. Peter had just taken on a new group of 12 beginners of Danish as an L2 and I was invited to follow his classes and see if

any of the learners would be appropriate for the study and interested in participating in the project. The learner group was very mixed consisting of people from sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, and Latin America. They all had at least high school degrees which meant they were part of the Danish Education 3 program for learners with a "longer" educational background. The idea behind this classification is that these students are expected to have a relatively fast progression when learning Danish (cf. uvm.dk). The course was part of an intensive, 18-month-long program in which the learners received 3½ hours of classes, four days a week. They were expected to put in a significant number of hours in homework as well.

During my first two weeks in the class, I participated four times to allow the learners to get acquainted with me and the audio recorders. At the end of these two weeks, Peter helped me to identify which learners lived up to the participant criteria we had decided as part of the larger project. These included that participants' were: 1) at early stages of their language learning; 2) planning to stay in Denmark; and 3) from outside (Western) Europe. Two of the learners in the class met these criteria. I invited them into a separate classroom to ask if they would participate in the project. I told them we were interested in how they learned Danish, both inside and outside of the classroom, which would involve them recording themselves speaking Danish in everyday contexts outside the course. Furthermore, I told them we would like to interview them about their background. Mulenga readily agreed to participate stating that she hoped it would force her to speak more Danish at home. The other potential participant, a Russian woman in her early thirties, did not wish to participate.

A couple of weeks after Mulenga had agreed to participate in the study, she had to go to Zambia for most of the summer for personal reasons. Thus, the data collection was put on pause until the end of August 2005. At this time, Yuko joined the class and soon after she agreed to participate in the project seeing it as a chance to speak more Danish with a Dane (me). From then on, Mulenga and Yuko participated in the same classes for the following 6 months.

Mulenga and Yuko both entered Denmark through the laws of family unification due to their Danish husbands. They were similar in age; Mulenga was 32 and Yuko, 27, at the start of the project. However, apart from these similarities, they came from very different backgrounds. Mulenga grew up in an urban area of Zambia in what she refers to as a middle-class family with six siblings and two parents who worked as a school teacher and as a paramedic, respectively. Mulenga had a secretarial college degree focusing on legal matters and was working under a permanent contract in a lawyer's office when she met a Danish man, John, who was visiting Zambia as a tourist. They stayed in touch and after she visited Denmark for a couple of weeks in March 2004, they decided to get married and for Mulenga to move permanently to Denmark. John was employed in the Danish military and 18 years her senior. He had two marriages behind him with a daughter from each. The oldest was grown up and no longer living at home but 9-year-old Emma was living with him 2-4 days every other week. He had shared custody with Emma's mother who lived in the same city a few kilometres away. Mulenga's mother tongue is Bemba and she speaks English fluently, having been schooled in English-only speaking

institutions from her early childhood. During childhood she also picked up multiple other Zambian languages and in high school she learned French.

Yuko grew up in an urban area of Japan as the older of two daughters to well-educated parents. Her childhood involved a couple of years in the US when she was a toddler while her father did his master's degree. Yuko finished a Bachelor of Arts in 2003 and decided to follow an 8-month long course in Denmark at a creative arts boarding school. About half of the students were international and thus the school language was primarily English. At the school she met a Danish man, Kristoffer, who was of a similar age and shared her interest in the creative arts. They married in December 2004 and she moved into Kristoffer's apartment in summer 2005. At this point, Kristoffer was officially enrolled in courses at the University but he spent most of his time trying to make it as an artist. Yuko's mother tongue is Japanese and she speaks English fluently.

During the data collection, I gradually developed a closer and closer relationship with both Mulenga and Yuko. However, as Mulenga is the focal participant in this study, in the section below I focus on how our relationship developed over the course of the data collection and beyond.

3.3.2 Balancing involvement and distance

During the first couple of months of knowing Mulenga, we most often met up at my office at the university or at the library of the language centre after her class was done. But as time went by we often met more informally. The places we met mirrored how our relationship developed from that of a researcher/participant, meeting in settings that represented these identities (the language centre or the university), to that of friends, meeting in cafés or at one of our homes. Mulenga, on multiple occasions, referred to me as her only Danish friend as she found it difficult to develop friendships with Danes. In the first months of knowing each other, my role outside the classroom was often that of a Dane who supported her in learning Danish (on a couple of occasions I helped her with homework and once I studied with her before a language test). As our friendship emerged, the topics of our conversations got more personal.

This development from a researcher/participant relationship to friends is not unusual in qualitative studies when participants are followed closely over an extended amount of time. Hastrup (1992, p. 75) describes this challenge for the researcher in ethnographic research as needing to create both "ethnographic involvement" and "anthropological distance". Involvement for me meant a conscious decision to talk relatively openly with my participants about my own life which, I believe, helped my relationship with the participants develop into one that was more relaxed. This allowed me to gain their trust and respect. An example of this was when Mulenga, in the first month of knowing each other, asked me to delete specific parts of the recordings from her home. Later on she told me that she trusted my judgement to determine which parts of our conversations were too private to share. Another example was in December 2005, when Mulenga was falling behind the rest of the class and felt increasingly frustrated about learning Danish. At this point, on multiple occasions, I suggested she might consider looking into alternative classes.

I also felt in this early part of our relationship that Mulenga used me as a sort of Danish sounding board to evaluate or re-evaluate her private experiences of Denmark, including family life, friendships and gender roles. She would also often ask my opinion on divorce, step-parenting, homosexuals, gender roles, the relationship to the extended family, and other social issues she was encountering that seemed to differ in the Danish context. Our common gender was important for my involvement with Mulenga, as in the narrative data, it was clear that she viewed women and girls as having a special understanding based on their gender (see also Chapter 6). I was 2 years younger than her and at that point at a similar life stage.

A possible disadvantage of my close relationship with Mulenga was missing others' voices in the data. I interviewed her language teachers and included questions about how they viewed Mulenga as a language learner, but with regard to the domestic sphere, I didn't include the voices of John and Emma. In qualitative studies, validity is thought to benefit from depicting the research subject from multiple angles to reveal possible contradictions (Duff, 2006). Including such diverse voices could be part of the strategy to ensure the anthropological distance, as Hastrup (1992) calls for. Instead, I took a number of other precautions advocated for in the literature (see Duff, 2006) in order to check my analytical interpretations. For instance, I continually presented data to colleagues in Denmark, in the Netherlands, in the US, and at international conferences. In this respect, I tried to ensure my interpretations were supported through multiple sources and encounters with other academics. I checked my interpretations of Mulenga's relationship and domestic situation with colleagues and Mulenga herself, who read chapters 4 and 5 before they were submitted to journals. Another way of ensuring distance was to include the interviewer's minimal responses in the transcriptions as a way for the reader to see how Mulenga's stories were interactionally-shaped (Riessman, 2008). In this regard, while the interpretation of data generated through such procedures can never be "objective", it can at least be controlled and checked through peer and participant review. Having accounted for how I attempted to achieve this, I now turn to the data itself.

3.3.3 Types of data

In the larger research project in which this dissertation work was originally embedded (see footnote 4, p. 31), collective decisions were made about participants and the types of data we wished to collect (see Risager, 2011; Wagner, 2006). However, I also expanded parts of the data collection to make sure my own research interests were covered, which I will explain in the following brief account of these procedures.

3.3.3.1 Interactional data

To capture how the participants spoke Danish inside and outside of the classroom, each were given and instructed in the use of an audio recorder. They were encouraged to record whenever they spoke in Danish: at home, at work, in the public sphere, and during peer work in the classroom. This part of the data collection was of particular concern to the researchers in the

larger project who had an interest in CA of L2 conversations. In CA, naturally occurring speech is of prime interest and it is therefore a usual practice to leave focal participants in charge of the recording (ten Have, 2007, p. 84). The data outcome is referred to as "naturally occurring" because they are derived "from situations which exist independently of the researcher's intervention" (Silverman, 2001, p. 159). However, even though the recordings are made by a participant, whether they are "natural" or not is a point of debate (see ten Have, 2007, p. 69). In the case of Yuko and Mulenga, this question of "artificial" or "natural" data, understood respectively as provoked by the researcher or not, can be considered when looking at the situations in which they record.

Mulenga made her recordings outside the classroom, exclusively in the context of her home. The situations in which she turned on the recorder seemed to relate to two key incentives/patterns. Most recordings were from the dinner table, but a few, central in the analyses of chapters 6 and 7, began shortly after it was apparent Mulenga was addressing Emma about a topic that in some way seemed pressing for her. As noted in section 3.3.1, Mulenga told me that having to record in her home would force her to speak more Danish. Thus, one can question whether the conversations Mulenga initiates in this latter mentioned data, in particular, were provoked by wanting to produce recordings for the researcher, or whether those situations would also have occurred had she not felt a need to produce these recordings.

In the case of Yuko, she recorded an array of different contexts outside of the classroom: at home talking to a friend, in the home of her parents-in-law, in the supermarket, when making a phone call to the doctor or the travel agent, and in a taxi talking to the driver. As in the case of Mulenga's recordings, one might question whether she felt she needed to produce recordings for this study, and if so, how this feeling influenced the conversation and her choice of language use, English or Danish, in the episodes she recorded.

I transcribed all audio-recordings from outside the classroom myself, first in a rough version with central passages transcribed later on in greater detail (see transcription conventions, Appendix 2). Transcribing these data myself gave me an immediate detailed overview of things going on, themes and developments and prompted ideas of reoccurring sequences such as Mulenga's attempts to make conversation with Emma, John's language brokering, and John's parenting style. I read through the rough transcripts several times to code them according to both the social actions and roles and the types of interactional struggles Mulenga was facing.

3.3.3.2 Narrative data

To capture how the participants experienced learning Danish and living in Denmark and how they envisioned themselves in the future, a series of interviews were conducted. Research interviews, or semi-structured interviews, are considered a useful tool to capture the life-world through the eyes of the participant (Kvale, 1996; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Riessman, 1993, 2008). In the realms of the larger project, three interviews were planned. The first two took place in the autumn of 2005, about three weeks apart, and the third in early spring 2006. Interview guides were developed collectively among the researchers in the larger project who were

interested in life stories and cultural aspects of language learning. The first interview was a life story interview about the life of the participants before and after coming to Denmark (see exemplar interview guide in Appendix 3). The second and third interviews both concerned the participants' picture of Denmark before and after their migration and used the same interview guide: First the interview was conducted in the participants' mother tongue, if possible, and the second time it was conducted in Danish. The interviews in the mother tongue were conducted by a native speaker who was trained in the interview guides, possessed a university-level education, and had experience in translating (for the reasoning behind this interview format, see Risager, 2011). While Yuko was interviewed by a Japanese woman with an immigrant background similar to her own, Mulenga was interviewed in English by a project member fluent in English and similar in age. This decision was made because it was not possible to find a Bemba speaking interviewer with the wished-for qualifications.

As a supplement to the collectively organized interviews, I conducted three additional semi-structured interviews with Mulenga (autumn 2005, spring 2007, spring 2012) and two with Yuko (autumn 2005, spring 2007). In addition, I supplemented the narrative database with recordings of informal conversations between myself and the participants as they occurred. All interviews and conversations were transcribed by either a research assistant or myself (for the full overview of data collected and the language of conversation, please see Appendix 1). I read through all the narrative data many times until feeling I had reached the point of saturation and then coded them according to the reoccurring and prominent topics. In the case of Mulenga the major and often reoccurring themes were: "Marriage with John and family life in Denmark", "life in Zambia", "Denmark and Danes", "Kirsten and Mulenga", "the Danish classes". Each of these was then evaluated further in terms of key tensions, possible analytic and conceptual foci, and emerging contexts.

3.3.3.3 Ethnographic fieldwork

Finally, as mentioned in section 3.3.1, I participated in the language classroom of the participants. Such ethnographic fieldwork and observations are a methodological tool to understand the routines of the classroom under study (see Duff, 2008; Silverman, 2001). The fieldwork consisted of the above mentioned interviews with the participants, which included their experiences from the classroom, as well as observational notes, audio recordings, and interviews with the teachers. During the classes I primarily engaged in an observer role noting the classroom routine and Mulenga and Yuko's behaviour and actions. When Mulenga and Yuko spoke in plenum, I noted the full dialogue. During peer-work, I engaged in more active participatory roles, taking part in the group work with the learners or assisting the teacher. In this respect, I drew upon my pedagogic training and former experiences of teaching Danish in Iceland and at a language centre in Denmark. During the breaks, I most often stayed in the classroom with the learners and made efforts to get to know them all. At other times, especially in the beginning, I spent the break with the teacher in the teachers' room. After each class finished, I made detailed notes of conversations with the participants about their thoughts of learning Danish and being in

Denmark, or with the teachers about their thoughts about specific classroom routines, the learners in Mulenga and Yuko's class, and so forth.

To further understand the classroom routines and the ideology behind the observed routines and procedures, especially the behaviour and the social roles of participants and teachers (see Chapter 4), I also make audio recordings of the classes themselves, some of which were later transcribed. Related to this purpose, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the teachers involved in Mulenga and Yuko's classroom focusing on their ideas about language learning and pedagogy, as well as on their perspective on the participants.

Beyond the classroom, I noted my observations about the behaviour and language use of the participants in the public sphere, for instance when we were in the supermarket, in a shop, or in a café. After each of these instances, I would note down what language they spoke and how the conversations played out.

In total, the amount of data collected through these different approaches and techniques totalled: 43 hours of interviewing and conversations, 9½ hours of interactional data from outside the classroom, 87½ hour of observations in the classroom (see Appendix 1). This data set was then drawn upon for the four empirical analytic chapters. The excerpts analysed in these chapters of the dissertation are selections that help to make visible the moment-to-moment life activity of the participants and/or their experiences of these activities. In each of the four articles, I engage data from different layers of time to allow for triangulation of the activity or phenomenon in focus. It should be noted that deciding on which activities to focus on, was a time consuming task in itself. Through multiple readings and thematic coding of all the data, some events and activities caught my attention from early on. In the following section, I discuss how these analytical foci came about.

3.3.4 Choosing a focus

As for most qualitative researchers, after the phases of data collection were assembled in a database, I was faced with what, at times, felt like an almost overwhelming amount of data in which I needed to find a focus befitting for the confinements of a dissertation.[6] For several reasons that I now briefly outline, that focus became almost exclusively on one participant, namely Mulenga, including the experiences of Yuko only in Chapter 4. The advantage of Mulenga's case over the others was, first and foremost, the amount of data available that reflected both instructed learning environments, social contexts, and the domestic sphere. In addition, I became intrigued by the uniqueness of being able to access a number of recordings from her

[6]I originally collected data from four participants: Mulenga, Yuko, Ahmed (a Turkish man, 37 years old), and Maria (an Albanian woman, 30 years old). I met Ahmed and Maria at another language center where they followed Danish classes for immigrants with a shorter educational background. Ahmed and Maria also migrated via the laws of family unification, but in contrast to Mulenga and Yuko, were both married to spouses from the same cultural and linguistic background.

home, which gave an insight into conversations not often available for research (see Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007; Wagner, 2004). Mulenga's experiences of the interactions in her family were also frequently raised independently by her (i.e. unprompted by me) in the early interviews and conversations we had. I got a distinct sense how much she cared for her new stepdaughter, how much she wanted to build a relationship with her, how challenging this was, how this impacted her relationship with her Danish husband, and the key role language played in all of this. This perception became confirmed once I began listening to the actual recordings from her home. I found myself fascinated by her persistence and struggle to create a relationship with Emma, sometimes trying to act as a friend, other times trying to be recognized as a valid co-parent with a say in household matters. I personally recognized her struggles to express herself and negotiate legitimacy as an authority, having experienced similar (though domestically different) challenges when I was a 19-year-old au pair in Iceland with no previous knowledge of Icelandic. At the same time, having come from a background with divorced parents, which meant being faced time-and-again with sharing my home with my parents' new partners, I could also empathize with Emma. And last but not least, Mulenga's migration story, which originally struck me as rather stereotypical (white older man from a first world country travels to a third world country in which he meets a much younger woman whom he marries and brings back home) did not equate to this research participant. The victimization narrative of the woman typically conveyed in this stereotype simply did not fit the data I was collecting about Mulenga. All to say that the type of data originally piqued my research curiosity, the family situation of Mulenga was something I could relate to personally, and her story as a marriage migrant fascinated me intellectually. This ended up resulting in four thematically divergent, but analytically complementary empirical explorations.

3.4 Structuring the analyses

At this point it is hopefully clear that triangulation and reflexivity are key elements of this dissertation, focusing as it does on language learning in an ecological perspective. In each of the following four chapters, I engage multiple data sources and multiple interpretive frameworks within their analysis, attempting to include observations and broader contextualizations from other research areas and fields when they seem especially relevant or add additional insight. As such, the literature and concepts deployed in these analyses sometimes go beyond the traditional research frameworks of L2 research. These four chapters, which form the empirical core of this dissertation, were all originally prepared as research articles for academic journals and are currently in various stages of publication. The analyses begin in the L2 classroom, possibly the most frequently studied context of L2 and foreign language learning. They then move on to consider L2 motivation as an interaction between micro and macro-level factors before zooming in on the L2 in use through analyses of the interplay of social roles and L2 competence within the domestic sphere.

Chapter 4 looks at how factors inside and outside the L2 classroom mediate and shape motivation and agency within it. It focuses especially on teaching method; learner history; experience in the classroom; and life goals and everyday activities outside it. This is explored through the contrasting experiences of Mulenga and Yuko during a three week period in which their class had a substitute teacher. Ethnographic observations and audio recordings from the classroom are used to outline the routines and the roles of teachers and learners. These findings are then connected to the findings in the narrative data in which the participants tell about their experiences of these routines and their self-declared views of their agency in the classroom. These accounts are further situated in interaction with their previous experiences with learning, their life goals and everyday activities outside the classroom. Theoretically, a combination of an activity theory-based understanding of learner agency (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) and the L2 motivational system (Dörnyei, 2009a) are engaged to understand the participants' contrasting motivations and agencies in the classroom.

Extending the insights into motivational factors extraneous to the immediate classroom setting found in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 comprises a broader sociological contextualization of Mulenga's L2 learning and motivation. It explores how the global trend of marriage migration and the tightening of immigration policies in the West interconnect with these processes. It specifically explores how a self-discrepancy (Higgins, 1987, 1998) between Mulenga's ideal and actual selves influences her motivation to learn Danish as an L2 (Dörnyei, 2009a). Empirically, the analysis draws particularly on one interview from autumn 2005, recorded a couple of weeks after the time of the activities analysed in Chapter 4. The narrative analysis (Riessman, 1993, 2008) of excerpts from this interview is supplemented with data from the whole database, but especially from the narrative data, including a follow-up interview in 2012 probing some of these themes and reflecting on how these influences changed over time. This data triangulation allows for a more in-depth understanding of issues in the narrative analysis, especially her views on Danes in general, Danish men in particular, and on Danish immigration policies.

As a marriage migrant, the domestic sphere can be expected to be a key site of Mulenga's linguistic and cultural socialization. Hence, this setting takes centre stage in the two following analyses. In this change of scene, the interactional data recorded by Mulenga in her home comes to the fore. With this change of setting and primary data source, comes a corresponding change in theoretical and methodological orientation. In Chapter 6, the main interest is in how the social role as a stepmother is negotiated between the three family members. The analysis takes as its point of departure previous research findings on family talk which have shown how family negotiations can usefully be analysed through dimensions of control and connection (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Tannen, 2007). This chapter explores how these dimensions unfold in the negotiations of a multilingual stepfamily, an unconventional formation infrequently considered within this literature. Building primarily on the interactional data recorded by Mulenga in her home, and secondarily on the interviews and conversations with her, central excerpts in which dimension of control and connection are pertinent are analysed. Following Bourdieu (1977), it is argued that in stepfamily interaction, negotiations of legitimacy precede, overlap and become

intertwined with negotiations of control and connection. In addition, Mulenga's limited interactional competence in Danish, the family language, adds another dimension of complexity.

This complexity of Mulenga's interactional competence and her social roles in the family is the analytical focus of Chapter 7, the final empirical chapter. Here her competences in Danish become central when she makes a complaint to Emma about problematic behaviour and aspects of alignment and agreement become a central focus. While Chapter 6 focuses more intensely on how identities are negotiated in the stepfamily within the domestic sphere, the aim in Chapter 7 is to capture in more fine-grained detail the role the L2 itself plays in her family talk. Its analysis is framed by previous literature on complaints in family talk (e.g. Laforest, 2002, 2009), which has shown that complaints are more direct in this setting because of the intimate relationships between participants. In addition, complaints have been shown to serve the function of upholding the moral order of the family. To get at the role of the L2 during such instances, a CA-informed analysis of repair is conducted. Repair is understood in line with Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) and further complemented by additional literature on word searches in L2 conversations (Gaskill, 1980; Kurhila, 2006) and language brokering (Del Torto, 2008). In this chapter we see how Mulenga's social role in the family is intrinsically interwoven with her emergent linguistic competence because she depends on her L2 to position herself as a stepmother. Taken together these four chapters provide a comprehensive accounting of how different opportunities to speak have a central bearing on L2 learning, use and motivation.